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WHOLE No. 502

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LUDVIG HOLBERG1

Just two centuries ago Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754), professor in the University of Copenhagen, had begun to publish that long line of remarkable works that were to establish his renown as the father of Dano-Norwegian literature in almost all its departments. Apart from his technical works on history, law, and geography, which are still to a certain extent of value, his enduring fame rests on his achievement in establishing in the North several departments of pure literature, such as satire, mock-heroic, and comedy. To the classical scholar his works are of absorbing interest. Few men of any age have touched classical literature, especially Latin, at so many points; few men have criticised it more severely; and, finally, few men of any age have paid it ultimately such high tribute, whether by direct statement or by imitation.

The influence of classical literature upon Holberg may be seen first in the works that he wrote in the vernacular, and, secondly, in those that he wrote in Latin. The fundamental cast of his mind was satire. which, he said, should function as a surgeon's knifehealing as it cuts. The original stimulus that drove him to writing came from Juvenal, whom he knew practically by heart. It is indeed strange that Holberg, the gentlest and the most good-natured of satirists, should have felt himself so drawn to the fiercest. He was, however, more of a Horatian than he realized; for, even when, in his second satire, he defends the cause of Tigellius, whom Horace took to task for his fickleness, and when, in his fourth satire, he purports to imitate Juvenal's attack on womankind, his attitude is expressed perfectly by the Horatian utterances quamquam ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?, and ridiculum acri fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res. When he essayed the epic, it was in the form of the mock-heroic Peder Paars, a burlesqued Odysseus, set in the plot and the framework of the Aeneid, in which by 'contamination' there was introduced from Ovid, Metamorphoses, the goddess Envy to take the place of the relentless Juno and to keep the lover from meeting his lady-love. Of less importance are his minor mock-heroics, The Jutland Feud, and The Daphnian Massacre. The latter resembles somewhat The Battle of the Frogs and the Mice.

He is perhaps best known for his comedies. Of these his Ulysses von Ithacia plays its pranks with the epic cycle, especially its chronology. Three of his comedies are adaptations from the Miles Gloriosus, the Pseudolus, and the Mostellaria of Plautus. He would probably have taken the Amphitruo and the Aulularia also, had not these already been made accessible to the modern stage in adaptations by Molière. His Erasmus Montanus is in the spirit of Aristophanes's Clouds; from Aristophanes he took also the title of his Plutus. A great admirer of Plutarch, he wrote in imitation of him his Famous Heroes and Famous Heroines. His Metamorphoses, written in imitation of Ovid, represents by a reverse process trees and animals transformed into beings officiating in certain appropriate human capacities.

He wrote more than five hundred miscellaneous Letters, after the manner of Pliny the Younger. At the age of sixty-two he published his translation of the historian Herodian, with a noteworthy Preface ostensibly on the Art of Translation, but in reality a glorification of classical literature.

He wrote about a dozen works in Latin. Of these I shall mention only the three major, first, his autobiography, in the form of three letters, entitled Epistulae Tres ad Virum Perillustrem (1727, 1735, 1743); secondly, his Iter Subterraneum (published at Leipzig, 1741), of which the immediate precursor was Gulliver's Travels, but which goes back in form to the True History of Lucian; and, lastly, his Epigrammata, written mostly in the style of Martial2, but showing strong influence also of modern Latin epigrammatists, especially Harder, and Owen. The first installment of his Epigrams was published in the first volume of his Opuscula Latina (Leipzig, 1737), in five books, totalling more than 750 epigrams. In the second volume of his Opuscula Latina (Leipzig, 1743), a sixth book was added dealing exclusively with biblical themes. His Epigrammata complete were published separately in a second edition at Leipzig (1749). In this edition what had been numbered the sixth book in 1743 was renumbered to be the seventh, and a hitherto unpublished book was inserted as the new sixth, so that the title page correctly says Editio Nova Sexto Libello Aucta. This brought the total well over nine hundred.

Habent sua fala libelli. It is probable that Holberg's Epigrams cost him more time and effort than any of his other works, and yet they brought him little return either in recognition or in money. One chief reason for this may be that their frequent use of word-play makes a large proportion of them difficult of translation. Holberg, however, to counteract the corrupt form in which the first installment was printed, as well as to stimulate interest in the ethical system which his epigrams presupposed, had published his Moralske

²Epistula Ad Virum Perillustrem Tertia, page 37: "Notarunt acriptores meorum censores in epigrammatibus me Martialem et in epistolis Plinium Iuniorem imitari. Neque diffiteor; nam quod Martialem spectat, si loca obscena exceperis, opus illius est verum exemplar, ad quod epigrammata exprimi debent. Quod Plinium attinet, auctor est, cuius lectione satiari nequeo".

Tanker (1744), a series of discourses on some of his better epigrams or portions of them. In the edition of the Moralske Tanker by G. Rode (1861), these epigrams or portions of epigrams appear translated into Danish elegiacs. Shortly afterward, Carl Müller, under the pseudonym Jens Justesen, published a text and Norwegian translation in four fascicles (Trondhjem, 1862-1863). The first two fascicles contained the Latin text, the last two the translation, in Alexandrines. A Danish translation of one hundred select epigrams by S. Müller was published at Copenhagen (1902), in elegiacs. These, however, do not seem to be the best epigrams. By the literary historians the epigrams are either not mentioned at all, or only briefly. The best notice is that by Henrik Jaeger in his Illustreret Norsk Literaturhistorie.

In his Introduction to his epigrams, Holberg states that, inasmuch as his satires and poems and comedies had brought him considerable recognition, he determined in his leisure hours for the sake of beguiling the time to attempt some epigrams in Latin, to find out whether any help could be expected from the muses in that kind of composition. Having composed a few couplets, he submitted these some time afterwards to the judgment of a friend, who encouraged him to resume the work and to persevere. This he did, and erelong he was astonished to find what a great mass of them he had written. Recollecting, however, what storms and tempests his satires and comedies had stirred up some years before, he long remained in doubt as to whether to publish his epigrams. But at last he accepted the judgment of friends that the epigrams would give delight and instruction rather than offense, and released them to the publisher. And so he who had become the Juvenal and the Plautus of the North now became also its Martial.

If we stop to compare Holberg with other neo-Latin epigrammatists, we must admit that Owen was his superior in cleverness and technique. Yet Holberg's broad outlook on human life and his deeper human sympathy gave him in some respects the advantage. Holberg was as limited as Owen in his use of meter, confining himself to the elegiac, except in a few instances where he used the straight hexameter. The peculiarities of prosody, which Holberg shared with most other modern Latin epigrammatists, including Owen and Harder, may be seen in one of Holberg's epigrams to Lot's wife (7.30):

Gloria si sit stando mori, mea splendida mors est; Namque ego stans morior, mortua stoque simul.

He justly expressed his impatience with those grammarians of his time who insisted that the pentameter must end in a dissyllable. He is by no means free from blunders in vowel quantity. For the most part, however, these occur in epigrams that could be dispensed with. The epigrams are generally addressed to persons whose good classical names, such as Pontilianus, Auctus, Papylus, Olus, Amyntas, Mammercus, prove that they are fictitious.

Inasmuch as satire was the fundamental cast of his mind, it is not surprising that his best epigrams are for the most part short satires, and in this connection may be quoted Owen 2.181 Epigramma, Satira, as almost prophetic:

Nil aliud satirae quam sunt epigrammata longa; Est praeter satiram nil epigramma brevem. Nil satirae, si non sapiant epigrammata, pungunt; Ni satiram sapiat, nil epigramma juvat.

The epigrams offer many topics for study: the relation between them and his other works, especially Peder Paars, Iter Subterraneum, and his comedies The Babbling Barber, The Political Tinker, and Melampe; their relation to other modern Latin epigrammatists, e. g. Owen and Harder, and to modern writers, e. g. Pope, Boileau, and Voltaire; their relation to Martial and to the other great writers of classical antiquity—Plautus, Terence, Cicero, Livy, Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Petronius, Seneca, Pliny the Younger, and Juvenal.

In his Praefatio (page 234), Holberg gives the following classification of his Epigrams:

Epigrammata quae hic sistuntur ad tres classes referri possunt: vel mere nugatoria sunt, vel dentata, vel philosophica. Praevalet numerus horum, quae maximam partem paradoxa sunt, licet nugis et salibus intermixta, adeo ut jucunda acoribus et seria nugis sint condita, prout in cena rite instruenda dulcibus cibis acres acutique miscentur, ut obtusus illis oblitusque stomachus his excitetur.

While no hard and fast line can be drawn between the three classes, and while they to a considerable extent overlap, the classification may be used for purposes of illustration.

CLASS I-NUGATORIA

1.29, De Sosibiano:

Sosibianus heri misit sua carmina sacra, Judicioque eadem subjicit ille meo. ELOQUAR AN SILEAM? sic coeperat is modulari; Perlegi, scripsi: SOSIBIANE, SILE.

3.45, Utriusque juris peritus Amyntas, qui ex coquo consul factus est:

Juris coctor erat, nunc juris doctor Amyntas, Jure in utroque igitur dicitur ille sciens.

(The second line here has reference to the degree J. U. D., Juris Utriusque Doctor, i. e. doctor of canon as well as of civil law, a degree still given by some European Universities).

4.9, Iter per Hollandiam ad Flandros: Per varios nos caseolos fluviosque butiri Tendimus ad Flandros; Lactea eunda via.

4.49, In abeuntem coquum:

Decoxisse coquum miraris, non ego miror; Namque alius finis non solet esse coqui.

3.8, In Malchum, qui formosam virginem custodem tabernae constituit:

Formosam gnatam praeponis, Malche, tabernae, Cui placido fulget dulcis in ore nitor. Non cupiam, si fur essem, spoliare tabernam; Custodis potius, Malche, ego raptor ero.

CLASS II-DENTATA

1.7, Ad Faustum de inaequali scribentium sorte: Libros cum scribo, sed tu tria disticha ructas, Munera, Fauste, capis, munera nulla fero. Quae fingis, fiunt thuris piperisque cuculli, At mea post cineres carmina scripta manent. Cur tibi, qui stulte scribis, tot praemia dantur? Utile qui scribo, praemia nulla mihi? Nempe datur merces, ne pergas scribere plura; Scribere ne cessem, spes mihi sola datur.

2.169, Responsio ad literas consolatorias:

Te maerere mei testaris morte parentis, Quod caelum nactus sit nimis ille cito. Grates nos agimus, simul imo ex corde precamur, Ne in caelum veniat tam cito, Flacce, tuus.

3.58:

Mentitur raro, sed fallit saepe Fabullus; A vero falsum cernere difficile. Semper mentitur, sed fallit rarius Afer; Quicquid enim dicit credimus oppositum.

4.116 (suggested perhaps by Pope):

Turpius est tepide laudari, quam lacerari; Scommata nos pungunt, frigida lausque magis. Nam culpans, laudes non dicere velle putatur, At laudans tepide dicere posse nihil.

4.133, In Sextum:

Ob satiras in me factas tibi debeo multum; Laudes formido, scommata curo parum: Namque malorum hominum satirae totidem mihi laudes,

Et laudes totidem scommata sunto mihi.

7.35, Jacobi querela adversus socerum:
Servio pro Rachel, mihi das, Labane, sororem;
Haec, ais, est potior, progeniesque prior.
Conjugii in pactis nihil aequivalentia prosunt;
Non volo quod prius est; posco, volo quod amo.

CLASS III-PHILOSOPHICA

One of his finest epigrams sets forth the aim and the end of study—study for its own sake:

1.27, Scopum studiorum suorum declarat poeta ad Olum:

Cur te nocturnis juvat impallescere chartis?
Aut tibi viventi nomen inane petis;
Aut vis post obitum tua pallida vivat imago;
At nil tale oculis ponitur, Ole, meis.
Invidiam vivo pariunt, non praemia libri.
Post mortem cineri gloria sera venit.
Ergo cur studeo, si quaeris, causa studendi est
Ipsis in studiis, ut studeam studeo.

1.140

In dando dantis magni facienda voluntas; Gratior est facilis quam mihi plena manus.

His epigram on the choice of a wife (1.171) contains the following couplet (9-10):

Non nimis esto gravis, nimiumque levem mihi nolo; Quae levis est gravis est; nam levitate gravat.

In his epigram on Joseph and Potiphar's wife (7.40) he draws the moral in verses 9-10:

Ob venerem multi patiuntur stigmata, flagra; Pauci ob virtutem flagra subire volunt.

The cost of practising virtue is given also in 1.117:

Vir bonus exercet virtutem, quae sine fructu est; Heros hanc sequitur, si sibi noxia erit.

3.42, Ad Pontilianum:

Pontiliane, putas senio canescere mundum, Quippe in tristitiam gaudia prisca ruunt. Vernat adhuc mundus, sed tu canescis, et orbi Adscribis vitium, Pontiliane, tuum. Another reflection of Pope is probably to be found in 4.122:

Tute tenax veteris moris, fraterque novator. Censura dignos judico utrumque pari. Est stultus veteri primus qui more recedit, Ultimus ut veterem qui retinere velit.

In Book 5 Holberg sets out at the alleged request of the god Janus to write panegyrics (5.1):

Quaeris cur semper mordacia carmina ructo? Laudes interdum, dicere, Jane, jubes. Invitis musis quid me praeconia poscis? At tentabo tamen, quid mea vena valet.

These panegyrics, however, practically all turn out to be 'roasts', and in the closing epigram of the book, after lamenting the lack of subjects worthy to be eulogized, he gives up the panegyric in despair by writing one on Janus himself, which turns out to be the greatest 'roast' of them all (5.49):

Haud aliter laudare queo; si spargere mixtim
Laudes compellar, da mihi materiam.
Da claros virtute viros, Fabios, Cicerones,
Da Curios, da te, da similesque tibi.
Te miror, te laudo libens. Pius es sine fuco,
Doctus doctorum liber at a vitiis.
Nullis mactaris titulis omnesque mereris.
Virtute es sola clarus eaque nites.
Musarum proles, Musas nescire videris;
Quos spargis radios ipse videre nequis.
O si tot Jani quot sunt fatui ac male sani,
Mutato calamo facta virosque canam.

Holberg's skill in the construction and use of the thematic epigram, a field in which he was a real master, may now be illustrated. Our three generations of epigrammatists have thus treated the story of Esau selling his birthright for a mess of pottage:

Owen 4.30, Permutatio Glauci:

Esuriens fratri omne suum jus vendidit Esau, Jacobus fratri jus dedit omne suum.

Harder 1.15 (injured by attempt at anagram):
Esuriens jus omne suum mihi vendit Esavus,
Nec male compensat fercula nostra pater.
A gemino sors aucta cibo mea, meque jubetur
Esavus, saevus sit licet, esse minor.

Holberg 7.32

Jus pro jure suum Jacobo vendidit Esau, Actio utrique igitur jure ab utroque datur. Contendunt fratres, jus juri opponit uterque; Hic scripto, is cocto vincere jure putat.

Harder 1.12, Uxoris Lothi Epitaphium,

Quae Sodomae cladem lapsosque e nubibus ignes Effugiens mihimet saevior igne fui. Hic sto non jaceo, levitas hanc improba poenam Poscit et insulsam sic sapuisse jubet.

Tu, ne terra gravis mihi sit, ne posce viator, Sed mage, ne terrae sim gravis ipsa meae,

is thus beautifully rebuilt by Holberg 7.28:

Hic sto non jaceo, sumque ipsa mei monumentum; Nemo mihi statuam ponat; em ipsa ea sum. Non tam salsa forem, minus ei! si insulsa fuissem; Insulse vixi, mors mea salsa fuit.

Owen 1.117, Herculeus labor decimus tertius,

Conjugis ingentes animos linguamque domare, Herculis est decimus tertius iste labor,

finds this concrete expansion in Holberg 4.99:

Monstrorum domitorem Alcidem femina fregit; Infelix decimus tertius iste labor.

Non est Alcides solus quem palla subegit, Istaec heroum fata frequentia enim. Occurrunt alii, quos ornat mascula virtus, Praebentes simili colla premenda jugo. Qui dat jura foras fert cuncta domi patienter, Qui trepidatque foras, imperat ille domi.

This thought is concretely illustrated in Iter Subterraneum 9.75, where the latter epigram is quoted in

Holberg has a number of themes in common with Martial 9.101 is ineffective because the second Hercules in it is built of adulation. Holberg enjoyed himself immensely in placing in nomination with a ringing speech Theodore, the Sexton, as a worthy Hercules the Second (5.9):

Alcides alter jacet hoc sub marmore, utrumque Gesta eadem virtus famaque nobilitant, Ambo clavigeri, monstrorum ambo domitores, Hic templi glires, stravit at ille feras. Herculea clava muri sternuntur et arces; Portae omnes patulae clavibus hujus erant. Purgavit stabula is, purgavit at hice sacella, Tandem aequale genus mortis utrique fuit: Saevis Mulciberi flammis ambo periere Vestis eum flagrans sustulit, hunce liquor. Solo hoc dissimiles—uxorem subdidit hice Imperio nervis, subditus ille fuit.

The John Paul Jones of the North was Peder Wessel, surnamed Tordenschiold (Thundershield), who was really a viking seven centuries belated. When he had only one comrade left on shipboard and this comrade wounded, he responded to the question 'How are things going?' by saying 'Things are going brilliantly!' To his memory Holberg, making only a few changes in Martial 10.53, contributed the following (1.2):

Conditur hac urna borealis gloria ponti; Danorum plausus deliciaeque breves, Ferrea quem Lachesis raptum florentibus annis Dum numerat palmas, credidit esse senem.

In like manner, emending Martial 3.99, he wrote the following, 2.28, Ad Flaccum Medicum:

Artis Apollineae cultor, cur carmina damnas? Cur satirae pungunt, innocuique sales? Tolle salem medicum, quid erunt medicamina, Flacce? Tristia si scribas carmina, nemo legat. Innocuos permitte sales. Cur ludere nobis Non liceat, liceat si jugulare tibi?

Of particular interest to the classical student are his epigrams on Latin authors, 4.100-112. I quote that on Cicero, the thought of which is accredited to Livy by Seneca Rhetor, Suasoriae 6.22: Si quis tamen virtutibus vitia pensaret, «Cicero» vir magnus et memorabilis fuit, et in cuius laudes exsequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit.

4.100, Laus Ciceronis:

Ut digne Cicero celebretur, opus Cicerone est; Laudari a solo nam Cicerone potest.

His Laus Apuleii (4.106) is probably original:

Materiae sermo respondeat, inde Nepotem Rideo reptantem rebus in egregiis, Obque stili cum materia consensum Apuleium Laudo, quem cum asino rudere cerno suo.

4.110, In Persii Satiras:

An scribit satiras an laudes, pungit an ungit Persius, haud constat; sat lego, colligo nil.

Stigmata non ponit vitiis, aenigmata profert; Qui docet obscure, dicit, Anyte, nihil.

4.111, * * * Carmina comparantur cum Martialis epigrammatibus:

Ille styli agresti doctus proferre polita, Vasibus argillae fert pretiosa tibi. Hice stylo nitido novit narrare pudenda, Auratis patinis stercora tetra ferens.

Holberg's epigrams were not all written in verse, and this part of the paper may well be closed with the quotation of his enthusiastic words on Ovid from his Epistula ad Virum Perillustrem Tertia (page 33): ubi maxime furit, minime delirat.

It is in the Epigrams that there can be found in concentrated form Holberg's thought on almost every subject. His epigrams are therefore connected with almost everything that he wrote; obviously, therefore. it would require an edition of the epigrams to show all these connections and parallelisms. I can only quote here the epigram in which he sets forth characteristics similar to those that he develops in detail as belonging to the Potuani (slow of apprehension, but absolutely reliable), and to the Martiniani (swift of apprehension, but fickle and volatile and unreliable), in his Iter Subterraneum.

4.121, Ad Olum:

Quicquid praecipias, confestim percipit Afer; Percipiens tarde perspicit omnia Aruns. Is prompte, hic compte dicit, delector utroque, Promptum illum miror, tardigradumque sequor. Pernix saepe fuit sententia perniciosa; At mora maturum consilium, Ole, parit. Ingeniis magnis quicquid peccatur in urbe, Sistere tardipedes ac reparare solent.

The epigrams above presented are for the most part chosen from Holberg's best, and the present writer has come to feel after an extended study of his epigrams that no epigrammatist ever succeeded in packing more wisdom into his epigrams. Holberg himself was under no delusion as to his shortcomings in the matter of epigrammatic form, as the following quotation from his Praefatio (page 235) will show:

Rogo deinde, ut materiae potius attendat lector quam stilo, qui forsitan humilis nimis et depressus quibusdam videbitur. Sufficit si judicet carmina mea perspicua, salsa, festiva et doctrinalia. Nam tantae est molis epigrammata rite scribere, ut inter tot epigrammatum scriptores vix tres vel quattuor videamus, juorum opera permanentia sint et hodie legantur. Hinc si rem tam arduam haut satis prospere tentaverim, sat mihi erit tentasse, sat erit, si judicet lector nobili me conamine ad ardua tendentem magnis excidisse ausis.

What Martial said of his epigrams (1.16),

Sunt bona, sunt quaedam mediocria, sunt mala plura Quae legis hic: aliter non fit, Avite, liber,

might also be said of those of Holberg; and, if a captious critic should say of his epigrams what was said of Martial's (7.81), Triginta toto mala sunt epigrammata libro, Holberg might with good grace have used Martial's answer, Si totidem bona sunt, Lause, bonus liber

ANDREW RUNNI ANDERSON UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

DE QUARTA HORATI EPISTULA PRIMI LIBRI

In hoc opusculo de quarta Horati epistula primi libri disserere mihi proposui. Sed quia illa vitam, vel potius nonnullas Tibulli vitae partes attingit, puto non ab re fore, si initium a Tibulliana vita enarranda fecero. Ea inprimis momenta perstringam quae ad hanc epistulam melius intelligendam pertinent.

De una re constat, Tibullum pueritiam ruri degisse. Praedium a parentibus relictum habebat, quod in regione Pedana, ut locus Horatianus testatur, situm erat. Id praedium quondam magnum fuisse conicere possis ex locis Tibullianis qui sequuntur:

1.1.41-42:

non ego divitias patrum fructusque requiro quos tulit antiquo condita messis avo:

1.1.10-23

vos quoque, felicis quondam, nunc pauperis agri custodes, fertis munera vestra, Lares. Tunc vitula innumeros lustrabat caesa iuvencos, nunc agna exigui est hostia parva soli.

Paulatim autem praedium deminutum est. Sed quo casu poeta opes suas amiserit non ostendit. Duae causae conici possunt: (1) poetam partem praedi amisisse per largitionem agrariam quae etiam Vergilium damno adfecit; (2) vitam nimis profusam magnam partem eius fortunarum evertisse. Mihi quidem prima coniectura probabilior videtur, quamquam poeta in carmine quarto secundi libri timet ne per avaram Nemesin avitas sedes vendere cogatur. Sed egestate numquam poeta oppressus est. Ipse dicit (1.1.77-78):

. . .ego composito securus acervo dites despiciam despiciamque famem.

Porro si pauper fuisset, nullo modo potuisset dies festos fumoso Falerno et Chio celebrare (2.1.27-28) aut fingere Messalam se visurum esse (1.5.31). Amor, vita beata, amoenitas ruris eiusque gaudia quasi fundamenta sunt eius carminum. Strepitum Romae et gaudia venalia oderat, et, si amore puellae adamatae perfrui potuisset, nihil aliud a deis petisset. Contentus scilicet hoc solum votum fovebat (1.1.5-6):

me mea paupertas vita traducat inerti, dum meus adsiduo luceat igne focus.

Carmina eius bellicoso colore carent, nam simplex eius natura a bellis abhorrebat. Cupido vitae tranquillae innata est eius animo. Homines eius generis libenter se in solitudinem recipiunt, ubi, obliti fortunarum amissarum, parvis contenti vivunt. Id his ex locis videre possis:

1.1.25-26:

iam modo iam possim contentus vivere parvo nec semper longae deditus esse viae.

1.3.33-34

at mihi contingat patrios celebrare Penates reddereque antiquo menstrua tura Lari.

Aemilius Baehrensius, in opusculo quod Tibullische Blätter inscribitur¹, sibi persuasum habet Albium, cuius mentionem Horatius hac in epistula faciat, non esse Tibullum, miserabilium elegorum² poetam. Declarat Albium illum qui ab Horatio depingatur hominem qui prospera fortuna frueretur fuisse, cui id solum curae esset optima vita perfrui et in otio phi-

¹Jena, 1876. Confer paginas 7-11. ²Horatius, Carm. 1.33. 3-4.

losophiae et carminibus pangendis se applicare; porro quia Albius nondum illam tranquillitatem animi quae viro vero sapienti esset digna adeptus esset, Horatium versus 12-16 addidisse. Baehrensius pergit negare Albi divitias quas Horatius laudet et artem fruendi et studium philosophiae cum illo Tibullo quem ex carminibus eius cognovimus ullo modo convenire, quia in nullo eius carmine indicium inveniri possit Tibullum umquam ad philosophiae studium se contulisse. Affirmat quoque Baehrensius Horatium dicere Albium talia solum carmina scribere quae opuscula Cassi Parmensis vincant. Illum autem Cassium fuisse auctorem praetextarum Porphyrionem affirmasse. Sed quia vox opusculum etiam alia genera poeseos denotat, necesse esse dicit Baehrensius ex verbis Horati concludere illum Cassium Parmensem etiam elegorum auctorem fuisse. Sed neque Ovidius neque Quintilianus Cassi mentionem facit. Verba Acronis, "inter quae opera «Cassi» elegia et epigrammata eius laudantur", Baehrensio parvi facienda videntur, nam, si Horatius in animo Tibullum habuisset, scripsisset 'Corneli Galli quod opuscula vincat'. Quia et ignotum et incredibile sit Tibullum tragoedias scribere conatum esse, Albium illum epistulae Horatianae non esse Tibullum, poetam nostrum.

Quamquam Baehrensius de antiquis litteris optime meritus est, imprimis ob Tibulli editionem³, tamen nescio quid ei persuaserit ut opinionem tam male sanam praeter ἐρκος ὁδόντω³ erepere passus sit. Unum patet, Baehrensium in epistula Horati fidem historicam quaesivisse, et oblitum esse non legis solum licentiae poeticae, sed etiam coloris et propositi eius epistulae. Sed mox ei respondebo.

Baehrensi opinionem Postgate secutus est. In Appendice A editionis Tibulli Carminum Selectorum testimonia antiqua Albium Horatianum Tibullum poetam fuisse (inter ea Diomedem grammaticum, titulos ad Horati codices manuscriptos, Porphyrionem) parvi putat, et, quod ad Vitam Tibulli pertinet, declarat in ea nihil plus inesse quam quod ex Domiti Marsi epigrammate et ipsius Tibulli carminibus inveniri posset⁴. In argumentis suis paene eodem modo progreditur quo Baehrensius. Iterum legimus de paupertate et de sapientia Tibulli, et, ut Baehrensi, ita Postgate Cassius Parmensis prohibet quominus sopor lumina occupet.

Nunc pergam respondere. Verum est Tibullum de paupertate sua in carminibus loqui, sed aeque verum eum paupertatis causam non addere. In carminibus focum suum, Larem antiquum, patrios Penates celebrat, item narrat, si bello incolumis redierit, se hostiam rusticam, porcum e plena hara, dis oblaturum esse. Semper vitam rusticam laudat, et a deis poscit ut se patiantur rura colere et amore puellae frui (1.5.21-22, 25-26):

rura colam, frugumque aderit mea Delia custos, area dum messes sole calente teret,

consuescet numerare pecus, consuescet amantis garrulus in dominae ludere verna sinu.

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³Leipzig, 1878. ⁴Confer etiam eius opusculum quod Messala in Aquitania inscribitur, The Classical Review 17 (1903), 115. ⁴Observandum est paupertatem τόπον elegiae fuisse. ⁶1.1.6; 1.10.15, 25. ⁷1.10.25.

Confer hos quoque locos (1.10.15-16; 2.1.17-18): Sed patrii servate Lares: aluistis et idem cursarem vestros cum puer ante pedes.

Di patrii, purgamus agros, purgamus agrestes: vos mala de nostris pellite limitibus. . . .

Non obliviscendum est eis temporibus, quamquam multi pristinos mores servarent, tamen magnam partem inprimis iuventutis, ingruente iam morum labe, se luxui et deliciarum cupiditati dedidisse. Constat omnia instituta Romana ad communem utilitatem spectare, itaque legem fuisse quae iuvenes a matrimonio abstinere vetaret*. Sed cum temporibus Augusti veteres mores in dies singulos deteriores fierent, et mollior cultus increbresceret, non matronae illius priscae severitatis animos iuvenum capiebant, sed feminae quae, ut ita dicam, medium locum inter matronas et scorta obtinebant. Hae puellae libertinae fuerunt; doctae autem interdum erant. Ex carminibus Tibulli notum est eum duas eius generis puellas amavisse et carminibus celebravisse, Deliam et Nemesin. Si pauper fuisset, sicut Baehrensius et Postgate eum fuisse affirmant, numquam eorum amore perfrui potuisset. Constat tamen istas puellas eum deseruisse, cum ditiores amatores invenissent. Vide illos locos: 1.5.47-48 Haec nocuere mihi, quod adest huic dives amator: venit in exitium callida lena meum; 2.3.49-52 Heu heu divitibus video gaudere puellas: iam veniant praedae, si Venus optat opes, ut mea luxuria Nemesis fluat utque per urbem incedat donis conspicienda meis; 2.4.14 illa cava prezium flagitat usque manu; 2.4.21-22 at mihi per caedem et facinus sunt dona paranda ne iaceam clausam flebilis ante domum; 2.4.25-26 illa Venus. . .dominam. . .rapacem dat mihi. Mihi quidem demonstrare hi loci videntur Tibullum magnam pecuniam in puellas suas impendisse, nam non solum puellae sed etiam lenae illae quas exsecratur munera et pretium semper flagitabant. Ex alio loco, 2.4.53-54, quin etiam sedes iubeat si vendere avitas, ite sub imperium sub titulumque, Lares, intellegere possis poetam timere ne per avaritiam puellae sedem avitam vendere cogatur. Num poterat pauper homo lenas corrumpere et puellas suas muneribus donare? Hoc ego non possum credere; illud potius credo Tibullum opes magnas ad largiendum primo habuisse, sed sive per luxuriam sive per publicationem magnam fortunae partem amisisse, nihilominus tantam partem adhuc habere ut vitam securam agere posset. Haec sententia convenit cum eo quod Horatius dicit in versu undecimo nostrae epistulae, Albio mundum victum non deficiente crumena contingere.

Restat iam addere divitias vocem multa significasse. Homo quidem qui luxuriae servit divitias re vera magnas opes significare intellegit. Sed qui parce modesteque vivit per divitias intellegit tantulas opes quae sibi parvum alimentum praebere possint. Ex saturis in quibus Horatius avaritiam castigat conicere possumus eum per divitias ea quae ad vitam parce degendam necessaria sint intellegere, immo vero Horatium hominem qui tantulis divitiis contentus fuit etiam sapientem appellasse. Hinc facile intellegas cur Horatius nomen sapientis Albio (Tibullo) adhibuerit, neque varia testimonia adhibere necesse esse putabis Albium (Tibullum) re vera magnas opes possedisse, cum Horatius de eius divitiis diceret.

Declarant Bachrensius et Postgate nomen sapientis quod Horatius Albio attribuat cum Tibullo ipso non convenire. Ego libenter eis consentio, Tibullum philosophiae quae aut in rerum contemplatione aut in actione versatur deditum numquam esse. Sed mihi quidem vox illa sapiens ad varios homines applicari potuisse videtur.

Jacoby⁹ autem, de primo carmine libri primi Tibulli disserens, ostendit carmen illud esse τόπον περί πλούτου et notionem eius carminis esse σύγκρισιν πλούτου καί πένια[‡] et ψόγον πλούτου finem carminis esse. Vidit igitur Jacoby et diaroisto primas partes hoc in carmine agere et indicia διατριβής in sermonibus quoque Horati inveniri posse. Sed dicere pergit Jacoby, quamquam ignoremus quibus disciplinis Tibullus imbutus sit, tamen non ab re esse conicere Tibullum in philosophia illa quae ad popularem sensum accomodata esset versatum esse; huius autem philosophiae plura vestigia esse in poesi Tibulli quam in Properti et

Ego Jacoby consentio, quia illa, ut ita dicam, cotidiana philosophia, quae plena fuit brevium sententiarum, quaeque quaestionibus quae ad vitam cotidianam pertinerent se dedere solita est, his temporibus in morem abierat. Ob aliam etiam causam mihi Jacoby assentiendum est, quia quae ille de primo carmine libri primi dixit mea opinione eis similia de decimo carmine eiusdem libri, quod Tibullus ante carmen primum scripsit, dici possunt. In decimo carmine vides poetam secum in animo meditari de bello et de pace. Poeta despicit gloriam et honores bello partos, atque pulchris verbis terrorem locorum infernorum et tristitiam mortis depingit. Ut multa breviter comprendam, modo bellum deprecatur, modo pacem et vitam rusticam laudat. Cum pacis laude carmen Habes igitur σύγκρισιν πολέμου και είρήνης et ψόγον πολέμου και έπαινον είρήνης. Non solum in carmine primo et decimo, sed etiam in aliis Tibullum sic de variis rebus meditari inveneris. Sed non facile discernas quatenus poeta noster illam philosophiam in carminibus pangendis adhibuerit. Nam Tibullus, duorum generum pulchritudinis, quorum in altero venustas est, dignitas in altero, peritus, in carminibus philosophiam illam qua ineunte aetate imbutus est tam egregia arte intexuit ut nihil aliud praeter pulchritudinem poeseos primo sentias.

Sed etiamsi quae modo dixi plane et plene demonstrari non possint, nihilominus Horatius recte Albium (Tibullum) sapientem dicere potest. Qui enim seclusam vitam rusticamque urbanae anteponit, quique parvo contentus est, qualem Tibullus se semper fuisse ostendit, is scilicet sapiens est. Inprimis qui sapere et fari potest quae sentiat et vita frui potest sine dubio sapiens est. Persuasum mihi habeo omnes mihi consensuros Tibullum semper pulcherrimis verbis quae sentiret ex-

^{*}Dionysius, Antiquitates 9.22; Cicero, De Legibus 3.3. . . caelibes esse prohibento.

^{*}F. Jacoby, Tibulls Erste Elegie, Rheinisches Museum 64(1909),

primere potuisse, semperque ad meditationem pronum fuisse.

Nunc ad illum Cassium Parmensem pergam. Quod Baehrensius pro argumento addit, neque Ovidium negue Quintilianum Cassium elegorum scriptorem commemorasse, ridiculum mihi quidem videtur. Cassius ille unus ex eis erat qui divum Caesarem a.a.Ch.n.44 in senatu interfecerant, et, postquam ad Brutum et Cassium fugerunt, cum eis bellum contra Triumviros gesserant. Pugna apud Philippos confecta, ad Antonium se recepit, cum quo contra Augustum pugnae apud Actium interfuit. Postea iussu Caesaris Octaviani Athenis a Q. Varo interfectus est. Non ab re est putare Horatio Cassium notum fuisse, quia uterque aliquantum temporis Athenis degerat. Acro tradit Cassium auctorem operum fuisse inter quae elegia et epigrammata laudarentur. Quod Horatius opusculo10 utitur, elegias solum vel Cassi vel alterius significare potest, nam vox opusculum semper quidem carmina minora solum, hoc autem loco exiguos elegos denotat, vox opus autem ad carmina maiora solum, quale est epos (carmen heroico versu scriptum) et ad fabulas pertinet. Nos non possumus cum Baehrensio consentire, qui nobis videtur oblitus esse cuiusdam loci Ovidi, cum poscit (ut infra Michaelis) ut argumento assentiamur quod ipse ex silentio Quintiliani et Ovidi fingit. Locus Ovidi hic est (Epp. ex Ponto 4.16.37-38):

Cumque forent alii, quorum mihi cuncta referre nomina longa mora est, carmina vulgus habet.

Planis verbis dicit Ovidius maltos alios poetas Romae fuisse quorum carminibus populus gauderet, sed se eorum nomina praeterire. Lygdami ipsius poetae cuius familiaritate usus esse videtur nullam mentionem facit. Fieri potest ut fuerit Cassius quoque inter hunc numerum quem Ovidius nominare noluerit et fortasse non potuerit. Certe Ovidius qui, ex Ponto scribens, veniam Caesaris (Tiberi) poscebat, ut se ex exilio revocatum in patriam restitueret, nullo modo nomen hominis a quo divus Iulius occisus erat nominare potuit. Si Horatius nomen Cassi in epistula sua nominat, in animo habet indicare Albium (Tibullum) in carminibus suis carminibus Cassi tamquam exemplari usum esse. Sed nobis nunc ignotum est quomodo Tibullus carminibus Cassi usus sit, sed id nobis persusasum habere possumus, Tibullum eum scribendo superavisse.

Skutsch¹¹, de Cassio scribens, declarat Horatium nomine Cassi in hac epistula etiam opiniones de republica quas Tibullus haberet leviter perstrinxisse, quod mihi probabile videtur, quia et Tibullus et Horatius amicitia Messalae, qui contra Caesarem apud Philippos pugnaverat et familiarissimus Bruto et Cassio fuerat, utebantur.

Supra dixi Baehrensium contendere Horatium

versus 12-16 addidisse quia crederet Albium nondum eam tranquillitatem animi quae sapienti viro digna esset adeptum esse. Equidem autem nihil tale video, et scire velim unde Baehrensius persuasum sibi habuerit Horatium versus eos addidisse, ut revocaret aut diminueret quae supra dixerat. Mea opinione ita res se habet. Illa epistula eius generis est quod Germani "Gelegenheitsbrief" vocant. Per epistulas eius generis poetae interdum quaestiones perstringunt quae ad vitam eius cui allatae sunt pertinent, interdum recta consilia inserunt, atque sic intimam familiaritatem et consuetudinem qua utuntur conglutinare solentia.

Denique nostram epistulam sic interpretari velim. Horatius certior factus erat Tibullum de suis sermonibus optime iudicavisse. Porro, quia Tibullum per longum tempus non viderat, valde scire avebat quid ageret. Sine dubio Horatius non ignorabat quid Tibullo persuasisset ut se a strepitu urbis reciperet, scilicet infelix amor avarae Nemesis. Epistulam igitur illam scripsit, partim ut ei gratias ageret, partim ut cognosceret quo modo vita rustica frueretur. Laudat eius otium nobile et dona quae dei ei dederunt. Illi versus 12–16 nihil aliud continere videntur quam bonum consilium, ut poeta diem carperet, nec vitam suam tristis degeret. Ut Orellius¹³ dixit,

Addit <Horatius> γνόμην s. locum communem, quo tamen nequaquam reprehendit amicum, ut opinati sunt interpretes morosiores. Est descriptio vitae humanae, quae ex natura nostra variis affectibus agitatur, ut in mortalibus omnibus, sic etiam in Tibullo, homine quamvis tranquillo neque supervacaneae opulentiae-cupido.

Horatius, ut ita dicam, partes agebat medici, qui, ut dissensionem animi qua amicus afficiebatur sanare posset, suavi alloquio cum vividi animi ioco usus est, ut Tibullo risum extorqueret.

Nunc duae aliae voces nobis considerandae sunt, gratia et fama, in versu decimo, quas Baehrensius silentio praeterit. Vox gratia tam favorem potentiorum quam facultatem qua quis animos aliorum sibi conciliat significare potest. Credo ego Horatium utramque verbi vim significare in animo habuisse cum epistulam illam scriberet, nam constat Tibullum familiarissime Messala, viro nobili, usum esse, ut ex multis locis in eius carminibus observari potest¹⁴. Quod ad vocem fama pertinet, iterum mihi Ovidius testis citandus videtur, in cuius opusculo quod Amores inscribitur hunc locum invenies (1.15.27):

Donec erunt ignes arcusque Cupidinis arma, discentur numeri, culte Tibulle, tui,

ex quo intellegi potest, Tibullum vivum maxima fama usum esse. Nam illa praeclara Ovidi elegia de morte Tibulli (3.9) in anno a. Ch.n. 19, quo Tibullus mortuus est, conscripta esse videtur. Quae cum ita sint, nihil obstat quominus fingamus Ovidium librum primum qui locum supra citatum continet ante hoc tempus, Tibullo vivente, scripsisse.

DRISLER FELLOW IN CLASSICS, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

JACOB HAMMER

¹³Contendit Michaelis, 381, hanc epistulam "boshaften Character" habere. Spero virum doctum ingenio meo matura subtilitate iudici nondum satis instructo veniam daturum, si profitebor me nihil tale in hac epistula detegere posse.

nihil tale in hac epistula detegere posse.

13 Vide eius annotationem ad Horatium, Epp. 1.4.

141.1.53-54; 1.2.67-70; 1.3.1-2, 55-56; 1.5.31-32; 1.7; 2.1.21-36; 2.5.119-120.

¹⁹Hoc loco liceat mihi opinionis Ed. Ad. F. Michaelis mentionem facere (Zum Authentischen Tibull, Philologus, Neue Folge 27 [1914-1916], 380). Scribit ita vir doctus: "Was soil den aber Cassius Parmensis sonst für opuscula geschrieben haben? Nun exactionum descriptiones, Zahlungsbefehle über fallige Steuern. ." Quamquam ei assentior hanc epistulann ad Tibullum referre, tamen opinionem eius, opuscula Cassi exactionum descriptiones fuisse, ut inanem mitto, quia his temporibus carmina pangere in morem abierat. Rectissime Horatius, Bpp. 2.1, 117; scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim. Confer etiam versus 107-110 eiusdem epistulae.

epistulae. "In Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopadie der Classischen Altertum swissenschaft, s. v. Cassius Parmensis.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND STERN MASSACHUSETTS SECTION

The Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Eastern Massachusetts Section of The Classical Association of New England was held at Cambridge on Saturday, Pebruary 7, with a record attendance. In the absence of the President, Mr. Frederic Allison Tupper, of the Brighton High School, presided, and made a brief speech of welcome. The program was as follows: Vergil's Reputation in the Middle Ages, Edward H. Atherton, Boston Girls' Latin School; Cross-words in the Study of Latin, John Kingsbury Colby, Milton Academy; Cicero's Last Fight, As Seen in his Letters and the Philippics, Professor Donald Cameron, Boston University; The Service Bureau for Classical Teachers, Miss Frances E. Sabin, Teachers College, Columbia University; Lantern Talk, Old Carthage To-day, Miss Harriet E. McKee, Walnut Hill School, Natick.

The following officers for 1925-1926 were elected:
President, Professor Alice Walton, Wellesley College;
Secretary, Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin
School; Executive Committee, Albert S. Perkins, CLARENCE W. GLEASON, Secretary

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE ATLANTIC STATES NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

The Nineteenth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States was held at Swarthmore College, May 1-2. The best way to describe the success of the meeting is to declare that it was comparable, in all respects, to the meeting of the Association held at Swarthmore College in 1915. Every conceivable arrangement for the comfort of the members had been made perfectly in advance, and was perfectly carried out.

The Dinner on Friday evening was in all respects The attendance there was good. delightful.

Saturday, the attendance rose to at least 150.

The programme was as follows: Words of Welcome, Dr. Frank Aydelotte, President of Swarthmore College; Response, Professor Charles Knapp; The Feminism of Menander, Professor L. Arnold Post, Haverford College; Gray's Elegy and Classical Teaching, Professor D. L. Drew, Swarthmore College; Notes on the Classical Element in Smollett's Roderick, Random Professor Charles Smollett's Roderick Random, Professor Charles Knapp (here, as elsewhere, Professor Knapp acted as substitute for the President of the Association, Pro-fessor Evan T. Sage, who was prevented at the last moment by University duties from being present at the meeting, and offering his paper on Greek Fire); Report of the Secretary-Treasurer; Business Efficiency and the Ancient Greeks, Professor William LinnWestermann, Columbia University; Whitewashing Certain of the Ancients, Mr. Merle M. Odgers, University of Pennsylvania; Some Private Houses of Ancient Rome, Miss Euphemia M. Mann, Girls' High School, Philadelphia; Caesar's Legal Position in Gaul, Professor Harrison C. Coffin, Union College, Schenectady; Ancient and Medieval Latin Hymns, Mr. Walter N Myers, High School, Camden, New Jersey; Election of Officers; Reports, Resolutions; Latin Paradigm Efficiency in the First Year, Mr. John F. Gummere, William Penn Charter School, Philadelphia; Experiments in Teaching Latin Prose Composition in Small Classes, Miss Dorothy Whitman, Centenary Collegiate Institute, Hackettstown, New Jersey; Art's Infidelities to Antiquity, Professor Walton Brooks McDaniel, University of Pennsylvania.

Resolutions were unanimously adopted conveying the thanks of the Association to Swarthmore College, and in particular to Dr. and Mrs. Aydelotte for the delightful Tea given to the Association and its guests on Saturday afternoon, to Dean Ethel H. Brewster and Professor D. L. Drew, who had charge of the arrangements for the meeting, and to all those who contributed in any way towards the success of the meeting, by presenting formal papers or by taking part in discussions.

The following officers were elected: President, Dr. Ellis A. Schnabel, Northeast High School, Philadelphia; Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Charles Knapp, Bar-nard College; Vice-Presidents, Miss D. Aileen Lougee, nard College; Vice-Presidents, Miss D. Aileen Lougee, Keuka College, Keuka, New York, Miss Ruth E. Messenger, Hunter College High School, New York City, Miss Edna L. White, William L. Dickinson High School, Jersey City, New Jersey, Professor Ethel H. Brewster, Swarthmore College, Professor C. F. Ross, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., Miss Cora A. Pickett, High School, Wilmington, Delaware, Professor Alice F. Braunlich, Goucher College, Baltimore, Mrs. Mable Gant Murphy, Western High School, Washington, D. C. Washington, D. C.

On April 25, 1924, the balance to the credit of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, current check account, was \$467.20. There was received from all sources during the year the sum of \$1882.48. The total funds were thus \$2349.68. The expenditures were \$1771.88. The balance on April 20, 1925, was \$577.80, an amount \$110.60 in excess of the balance at

the beginning of the year.

On April 25, 1924, the balance to the credit of The Classical Weekly, current check account, was \$245.07. The receipts of all sorts were \$4290.26. The total funds were thus \$4535.33. The expenditures were \$3700.11. The balance on April 20, 1925, was \$835.22, an amount \$590.15 in excess of the balance at the beginning of the year.

382 subscriptions to The Classical Journal were collected and forwarded. The amount transmitted

was \$477.50. 97 subscriptions to Classical Philology were collected and forwarded. The amount forwarded was \$258.99.

During the year the sum of \$106.50 was forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Classical League on account of dues. 415 members of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States paid dues for 1924-1925 to the American Classical League. The amount involved was \$103.75.

\$480.39 was collected in the way of voluntary contributions towards the cost of publishing the General Index to The Classical Weekly, Volumes I-XVI.
This amount was transferred to The Classical

WEEKLY account.

The total assets of the Association on April 20, 1925, were as follows: The Classical Association account, \$1367.29; THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY account, \$2094.97; Index and Emergency Fund, \$500.00; The Classical Journal account, 1925-1926, \$53.50; Classical Philology account, 1925–1926, \$50.34; American Classical League account, 1925–1926, \$12.25; Total, \$4078.35. The following figures show the numbers of members

and subscribers, and the totals of the two together, for the last ten years: Members, 741, 760, 681, 613, 655, 735, 792, 785, 840, 849; Subscribers, 815, 876, 704, 565, 573, 741, 793, 754, 820, 795; Totals, 1556, 1636, 1385, 1178, 1228, 1476, 1585, 1539, 1660, 1644.

The last figures, 849, 795, 1644, will be increased, before another Report is presented, by the receipt of belated payments for dues and subscriptions on ac-

count of 1924-1925.

By action of the Executive Committee, Professor Charles Knapp was elected as Delegate from The Classical Association of the Atlantic States to the Council of the American Classical League. CHARLES KNAPP